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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

ADDRESS

by

PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

at the meeting of the National Assembly's ordinary session

Cairo, March 26, 1964

Information Department

Cairo, U.A.R.

UAR. 4623.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
at the meeting of the National Assembly's
ordinary session,
Cairo, March 26, 1964

Followed by members of the National Assembly

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fought for freedom and independence. The
glorious struggle of the Egyptian people for
liberty and independence is a story of a people
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event in the life of the Arab nation. The
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Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

History before us entered this hall, and the Revolution entered... each wishing to look upon this new and glorious sight upon which all the lights are directed. Attention is focused on this popular Assembly elected by the free will of the masses of the struggling people, representing a major conversion in the political, social and national history of this area in which we live and on which we work with goodness and justice — one Arab nation before whom the horizon is wide open with the width of the area between the Ocean and the Gulf.

The elected popular Assembly is a serious and decisive event in the life of the Arab nation. The revolutionary popular will has opened the road and prepared for it this major role. The will of the popular revolution has paved the way for what it was able to achieve with God's help namely the defeat of imperialism, the overthrow of reaction and exploitative capitalism the partners of the unholy alliance against the people, who wished to terrorise and subjugate the people so that they may be able to proceed in the spoliation of their wealth and labour and ensure their

own luxury and wealth at the expense of the blood and sweat which flow unlimited from millions of workers.

The will of the popular revolution has prepared its place when it decided with its awareness and by the inspiration of its national conscience to place the working power of the people and the organised revolutionary vanguard at the head of the national work, in a position of leadership.

The will of the popular revolution prepared its great role, having established through clear vision, the dimensions of the ever-renewed and ever-expanding aspirations lying before those who have long been deprived of the legitimate rights of man at a time when scientific and intellectual progress has been able to rise to wonderful brilliant peaks.

This elected, popular Assembly, represents an unique stage, distinguished from all past ones: for it does not stem from the accumulations and sediments which weighed upon Egypt's chest for a succession of long centuries of injustice and darkness. Nor does it represent the domination of a class which monopolises privileges or seeks to monopolise them.

Egypt has witnessed, even in this Twentieth Century forms of Constitutional experiences. But, until before the Revolution, all these experiences were an expression of the adverse revolution, that set-back the 1919 revolution, following which we have witnessed in 1923 a constitutional façade which started with an assembly that represented the trend towards conciliation with the reactionary and imperialist forces, and ended,

in 1950 with an Assembly representing full surrender to reaction and imperialism.

Between the hesitant steps towards conciliation and the desperate fall to surrender, came under this dome a succession of Assemblies that were entirely divorced from the veritable national reality, with but shades of variation between deceived good intentions and outright daring conspiracy against the people's rights.

This elected popular Assembly is a new aspect of a new era. We can safely say that no parliament throughout the political history of Egypt has had the same opportunity to serve the nation as this Assembly which held its first meeting this morning. This is a great responsibility which faces an epoch-making test today. It is not enough to say that this Assembly is a new aspect of a new era. What is more important is that this Assembly should be able to serve its age and to correctly express its needs.

This Assembly which stems from the will of the masses must always stay with them. It cannot afford to raise itself pompously above their demands; nor can it forgetfully drop behind their aspirations. It must always keep abreast of the masses and must never forget to light up their life. This Assembly has been grown out of a revolution and it must march along the path towards the revolution to the end. It has grown out of hope and it must carry this hope all the way fruition. It has grown out of the will for drastic change and it must attain the broad objectives of change, the objectives of unbounded sufficiency and justice, of unrestricted social and political democracy, of a society with equal oppor-

tunities for all and no class differences and of new vistas in which the Arab individual can do honour to life and life can do honour to the Arab individual.

This is the momentous role which your Assembly shall assume ; this is the road, the place, the part and the far-reaching responsibility you shall launch upon. Were we to stand prepared before it and ask ourselves in full frankness, if we can shoulder this heavy burden, we shall find in the struggle of our great people the decisive answer to any question and it will unequivocally do away with any misgivings.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

Looking to the past may sometimes be useful, and may also be so in defining the look towards the future. When we envisage what we are called upon to support in a coming stage, this close contemplation of our effective forbearance will strengthen our ability and will sustain us in what we expect and look forward to.

I put the question in your presence now, while we are facing a responsibility as great as a mountain that awaits us, what was the situation in our country 12 years ago ?

On such a day in 1952 the British were occupying the banks of the Suez Canal, concentrating themselves in their strongest military base in the Middle East. They were imposing their manifest authority on all the Canal Governorates, so much so indeed that no one, official or non-official, could gain admission to the zone without being searched by British troops.

The British occupation used to look down at Cairo,

turning a deaf ear to the desperate cries for freedom filling the streets, and winking at the ruling palaces governing the land and all thereon, gratified at their close connection with it, although pretending to sympathize with the cries for freedom filling the streets.

The alliance of interest was stronger than any obligation. Governments succeeded one another in power, each of them came to fill a gap and went after opening several others most prominent of which was the incapability of all governments who assumed power at that time to convince the occupation powers to accept the principle of negotiation to find a substitute for the 1936 agreement which popular pressure had discarded. However, this popular pressure was soon dissolved due to the lack of a leadership capable of showing the road to be followed after the first stage. What became obvious was that the problem was not just the non-existence of sound leadership but the weakness in the faith of the existing leadership concerning the steps which it was compelled to take. This is evident from the fact that it did not take any measure in preparation for whatever lay behind the first step.

The existing government lived in a crisis at that time which severed any link with the teeming and moving reality. The king sat at the top in Cairo and ruled from above the forces of occupation which tried to cover up superciliousness by means of trickery, and from above the political parties whose haughty attitude failed to hide their failure.

The highest authorities walked in the palace salons or moved surreptitiously in its secret passages. The

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king was busy with his own adventures, his own deals and his crown prince whom he carried in his arms when he looked out of the palace balcony on some army officers in the circumstances of the Cairo fire saying that he had endowed him to the nation. What he actually meant was that he was giving the whole nation to him.

The masses were lost, finding that which they desired drifting further away from them and that which they rejected coming nearer to them, pressuring them and practically choking the breath out of them ; they would not have hesitated if only they could have. The past was a phantom behind them, the present a dilemma, and the future a darkness.

The masses would then rush in anger looking for a way to end this, looking in the depth of their mind holding to all spiritual values and struggling principles within their conscience, appealing to their conscious mind to struggle in order to save them from this great dilemma, in order to be able through positive steps to get over their anger and transform it into a will for revolution.

The whole Egyptian society was a victim to different contradictions pressing upon it from outside and clashing with it from the inside, violently shaking society and almost shattering its structure.

Society was turning and twisting around itself, trying to find a way. Every road before it appeared blocked with great iron locks — nevertheless the people did not give in to despair and surrender.

Resistance against all this was as strong and as

noble as ever. The Egyptian people at that time appeared in the best way, like heroic man at the bottom of the sea fighting the feared octopus to free life from its many arms.

Man was victorious and his will sovereign over the ferocity of beasts. How was the practical form of the Egyptian man's victory at that time ? The practical form of victory appeared in the fact that the vanguard, belonging by loyalty to the people, stood ready receiving from the people themselves, its great master and inspirer, their will, and placing in the service of that will the first and last of its possessions, that is its life, and moving, in answer to the people's call, its only guide in its action six principles it held on to in belief on a land on which everything shook and quaked as if it were the ruins of Cairo which was destroyed by the fire.

The six principles, at that difficult time, were as follows : the elimination of imperialism and its traitorous Egyptian agents ; the eradication of feudalism ; the destruction of monopoly and of the domination of capital over the government ; the establishment of social justice ; the establishment of a strong, national Army and the establishment of sound democratic life.

Nothing existed except these six principles as mere sign-posts towards a difficult, far-off road. Yet, at that time, they seemed an indulgence in over-optimism in the atmosphere of the reality from which they were born, as an answer and a challenge to that very reality.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

These six principles — in their general form and in their simplicity, and despite the challenges with which

they were faced — were able to be a weapon in the hands of the Egyptian man that ensured him victory in his struggle with deep-water beasts. Above all, they were able to ensure his victory before choking and letting out the revolutionary breath stored in his lungs, and rising to the surface to fill his lungs with air; thus coming back to life, victorious and sovereign.

What happened to each of these six principles ? How did each one of them turn into a weapon bringing victory and sovereignty to the Egyptians over the few years which have elapsed since then ?

First : the first principle. — the elimination of imperialism.

I do not think we need much effort to prove that this nation today is foremost among the independent countries of the world after having been a foreign-occupied base firmly gripped for more than 70 years and terrorised by 80,000 armed British soldiers on the banks of the Suez Canal.

This nation took a determined stand against British occupation and was able, by dint of obstinate resistance, to force it to withdraw in June 1956 only to face it again as an invader in October of the same year and to defeat it in battle on the banks of the same Canal which had once been its base. And the nation forced it to pull back in defeat, thus driving it out of the country twice within the same year once by passive resistance and again by the positiveness of total war.

The people understand that the imperialist existence in the land is not the apparent military bases, but those that are hidden, which are far more dangerous and harm-

ful. Thus the people find themselves between two wars, the war of passive resistance ended by the evacuation and the war of complete victory, nationalising the Suez Canal Company, the pivot of capitalist, monopolist imperialism and confirming their authority over its possession, administration and profits.

And while the battle is still raging on the shores exposed to invasion, the will of the popular Revolution liquidates the remaining bases of the capitalist, monopolist imperialism in the interior, nationalising all interests owned by the imperialist powers, foremost among which is the greater part of the banks, insurance companies and foreign trade establishments, all being sensitive and dominant nerves of the economy.

Above this, the people understand the importance of the unity of the anti-imperialist action at this stage and consider it necessary to create an extensive front for liberty. Their revolutionary will was the most effective force towards the success of the Bandung Conference which, besides its importance in the history of Afro-Asian solidarity, was the highest collective call which rose for the struggle against imperialism. The road proceeds after the call of Bandung and after the victory of Suez, increasing in length and breadth to prepare for the most massive march for freedom which ever took place in Africa.

Then comes the Casablanca Conference, the first organised African effort which pledged itself to serve the cause of the liberation of the people of the continent. Then the will of all Africa agreed upon freedom rejecting any substitute for it at Addis Ababa. Free-

dom was not just to get rid of imperialist bases, it looked out to farther horizons in a desire to liberate the conscience and thought of the people which had long been suppressed, to liberate their opinion, to liberate their culture. The call for positive neutrality went side by side with the call to fight imperialism. Positive neutrality has proved its active value in the service of the objective of peace which is not threatened by military pacts, atomic bombs or racial segregation.

In calling for all this and for positive action towards these ends, the Egyptian people stand as a vanguard among vanguards, with no imperialist force on their territory, no pact to put pressure on them, no obligation to fetter their will, no threat to frighten them, no libel to shame them, nothing but a free land, a free people and a free will, while the people, the land and the will stand by the side of humanity at large.

Second : the second principle... eradication of feudalism.

The ownership of the greater and more fertile part of the agricultural land was in the hands of a small number of big landlords, besides other vast areas held by agricultural companies that were owned by foreigners, though they tried to conceal their real identity behind Egyptian façades. In accordance with the socialist laws, including the Agrarian Reform Law, the area of lands that has been expropriated for distribution to farmers amounted to 944,457 feddans.

Apart from the conditions of ownership, there were the economic conditions governing the agricultural

land which did not allow a fruitful exploitation of the land that was not in possession of the feudalists. The economy of holdings belonging to non-feudalist owners was weak because of their lack of organised financing and technical know-how.

Through the fixation of the rental of agricultural land which was a part of Agrarian Reform ; through the consolidation of co-operation and availing it of the opportunity of interest-free financing, as well as tending towards the regroupment of agricultural land on the largest scale, there came about a transformation in the conditions governing the productivity of the agricultural land, besides the transformation which took place in connection with its ownership.

The average income of the families which benefited from the distribution of lands taken from the properties of former big landholders rose from L.E. 27 per annum before they became owners, to L.E. 150 in the subsequent year. The total benefit realised from the fields of beneficiaries of the distribution of expropriated lands, attained L.E. 25 million yearly, and this amount contributed to a genuine amelioration of the standard of living of these new owners.

The law on land rents also produced a more widespread effect, as the return of the feddan rose, for the rentor, from L.E. 9 to L.E. 27 yearly. The total increase in income of the land rentors under the new law fixing land-rents amounts to L.E. 56 million yearly.

The value of loans without interest advanced to cultivators, according to the last 1963 statistics reached L.E. 60 million.

The effect of all this is that the grasp of feudalist landowners on rural life has been loosened in front of the increasing influence of the multitude of farmers who are economically organised in a co-operative system, and politically in the Socialist Union formations.

The deep changes in the Egyptian society put an end to the influence of feudalism in the capital. During the years following the 1919 revolution and until the 1952 Revolution, power lay permanently in the hands of 16 Egyptian families of big landowners. The majority of Ministers who took office in Egypt during that short and critical period came from those families or from others related to them.

The savings they had amassed from the exploitation of the countryside enabled them, in collaboration with some adventurous foreign elements, to engage in industrial and commercial capitalist activity and to multiply their profits as a result of customs protection paid for by the consuming public only to enrich a handful of beneficiaries.

Third : the third principle is the abolition of monopoly and the domination of capital over the government.

The interests of capitalism which dominated the nation perceived from the first day that they could not impose their rule over the government which had been placed by the revolutionary masses in the leadership of the change which started on July 23rd, 1952. But dominating capitalism imagined that it could consolidate its actual positions and increase the concentration of its monopoly over the wealth through its knowledge of the Revolution's desire to expand the basis of production. However, these interests overlooked the fact that any revolution

worthy of this glorious epithet should always ask itself to whom the increase in production would go. The revolutionary popular will answers this question practically by establishing strong production units owned by the people. This was the nucleus of the public sector which soon consolidated itself through the complete domination of capital be it in banks, insurance companies, foreign and internal trade companies which were nationalised and which became public property. It was followed by the socialist decrees of July 1961 which ensured the public ownership of the larger part of the means of production particularly in the industrial field. Clear limits for public ownership were then drawn so as to include the main skeleton of production such as railways, roads, ports, airports, motor power, the means for land, sea and air transport then the heavy medium, mining and building materials industry, the affective part of the consumer industries in a manner which would leave no room for exploitation. This was connected with the realisation of complete popular supervision over foreign trade, the breaking of any monopoly in internal trade which was thrown open to private activity.

Thus traditional feudalism which tried to escape to the modern aspect capitalist exploitation collapsed especially after it lost the support of foreign interests which shared with it in the spoliation of the people's wealth and effort.

Fourth: the fourth principle: — the establishment of social justice.

Experience has proven that social justice cannot be attained except upon the two bases of sufficiency and justice neither of which could attain the objective without

the other. Indeed, each of them without the other, would take a course contradictory to the objective.

Sufficiency, that is increased production, without justice, means a further monopolisation of wealth. Justice, that is the distribution of national income without increasing its potentiality, ends only into the distribution of poverty and misery. But, both together; that is sufficiency and justice, hand in hand reach their objective.

We start with sufficiency in its different spheres.

Strenuous efforts were exerted during the past years in the development of agriculture. But agriculture, by its very nature is the most difficult sphere of production in its response to effort. It is the one sphere which requires the greatest amount of patience and effort. Yet, its development always remains the surest basis for the establishment of a sound economy.

The efforts exerted for the introduction of science and modern technical study to help us solve the agricultural development problem have progressed quite considerably. Actually some results have been obtained in the average yield of the feddan under certain crops. But the highest hopes still hang on the agricultural co-operative experiments now being carried out on vast expanses of the Egyptian agricultural area aiming at the reorganisation of the co-operative societies to help them raise the technical and scientific standard of agriculture and facilitate the granting of loans to farmers and their supply with the seeds, fertilizers and machines required. These co-operative experiments also aim at the improvement of the soil, irrigation and drainage, the cross-breeding of new seeds, expansion in

the use of machines, the increase of animal wealth and the consolidation and extension of the rural industries.

Actually irrigation and drainage projects estimated at L.E. 125,000,000 have already been carried out and there are now the irrigation and drainage projects, estimated at L.E. 73,000,000 laid down for the High Dam, but the greatest success was realised in respect of the reclamation of new land within the valley and the surrounding desert areas.

Inside the valley and considering what is now actually being reclaimed and will be completed this year, the new land which has been reclaimed within the actual valley of the Nile totals 505 thousand feddans all with their new villages and services.

In the desert, the New Valley began to unveil its great potentialities. Though the area of land now under reclamation is 32,000 feddans, possibilities discovered every day give hope of hundreds of thousands of new feddans. There are ten thousand feddans on the north-west coast which are now planted as orchards, and which obtain their waters from 834 sakias (water-wheels) worked by windmills. To the south of this land there are 8500 feddans in Wadi El-Natrun. On the eastern coast, 8500 feddans are about to be prepared; these receive water from 48 wells dug in the middle of the desert. Besides its productive value and the life it renders to its new owners, the most important thing this land brings about is the spirit of life itself, the spirit of the pioneers who plant hope where despair used to be, and spread out the greenery where there had been barrenness.

After this let us stand before the miracle of man in this age we live in — the High Dam which stands in the middle between an agricultural revolution and an industrial one, affecting both — agriculture in the new land which amounts to two million feddans, and industry, bringing to it electric power somewhat over 10 milliard KWH. The High Dam is a comprehensive manifestation of the manifold revolution in the political, social, scientific, economic, military and spiritual struggle of the Egyptian people.

If we look at some of the figures about the effects of this Dam and its construction, we would see before us its true value as a beneficial and symbolic project. The benefit can be estimated from the following figures:

The Dam adds to the national income L.E.234 million yearly, that is nearly half the national income which Egypt had before the Revolution. Moreover, L.E.100 million in hard currency shall be saved annually through cutting down imports and increasing exports. Two million fertile feddans shall be added to the present cultivable land in the Nile valley. Also it will give an electric power of 10 milliard K.W.H. yearly, that is double the present electric power per year, including the power generating from the Aswan Dam hydro-electric project and all the new power stations built since the Revolution.

L.E. 100 million have been directly spent on the construction of the Dam, but a further sum of L.E. 43 million has been spent on indirect services at the site.

As for the symbolic value of the Dam, the Egyptian man has accomplished until today, March 26th, 1964,

the following: He has dug through rock and mountain to open the diversion canal what amounts to 10,465,000 square metres of stone. The size of the tunnels which have been dug is 538,500 square metres. The size of concrete constructions is 368,338 square metres. The rocks thrown into the river to serve as base for the Dam were 8,594,000 square metres, and the size of the steel gates of the tunnels was 21,140 tons.

When the first stage of the construction of the Dam ends on May 15th next, the Egyptian man will have added other record figures to these fantastic figures.

Our generation is fortunate to witness the historic impressive scene of diverting the course of the River Nile to the diversion canal. That scene which will take place on May 15th will not only be an impressive, historic one, but will also symbolise man's will power which conquers nature and will honour God's spirit in man by emphasising his supremacy and ability to overcome all difficulties.

I may add that it is fortunate that a dear friend of our people who represents dear and friendly people shall attend with us this ceremony. I mean Premier Nikita Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

I now turn to industry with reference to the fourth principle of the six principles, namely the principle of establishing social justice. Let us look at the development in the production of goods which Egypt was actually manufacturing in the year of the Revolution. Production of these goods in 1963 (which will still increase in 1964) is as follows:

Cotton fibre-122,896 tons showing an increase of 121%; textiles 80,109 tons showing an increase of 100.3%; woollen fabrics 3,609 tons showing an increase of 308.3%; jute fabrics 24,191 tons showing an increase of 1,411.9%; sugar 355,626 tons showing an increase of 88.7%; nitrous fertilizers 739,247 tons showing an increase of 135.7%; paper 94,874 tons, showing an increase of 374.4%; iron bars for reinforced concrete 196,812 tons, showing an increase of 293.6%; cast iron pipes and sanitary ware 53,833 tons showing an increase of 220.4%; liquid batteries for motorcars 154,331 batteries showing an increase of 757.4%; dry batteries 15,821,000 batteries showing an increase of 1,218.4%; electric bulbs 9,949,000 bulbs showing an increase of 298%; cement tubes 152,763 tons showing an increase of 748.7%; crude oil 5,650,000 tons showing an increase of 158.6%.

Now let us look at the list of goods which were not being produced before the Revolution, and their production figures for the year 1963 :

Iron ore 488,897 tons, semi-processed steel blocs 67,306 tons; railway tracks and steel blocs 48,371 tons; cast iron sheets 29,425 tons; steel tubes and accessories 2,874 tons; motorcars 5,507 cars ; buses 565 buses; lorries 1362 lorries; tractors 632 tractors; bicycles 41,911 bicycles; railway wagons 460 wagons; butagaz cylinders 106,603 cylinders; 49,000 tanks for spraying -plants; 38,595 water metres; 25,000 tons of cables and wire; 99,250 electric transformers; electric metres 93,000; butagaz stoves, 62,065; electric refrigerators 26,124; radios and transistors 177,915; T.V. sets, 50,000 and telephones 39,468; calcium ammonium nitrate fertilizer 329,828 tons; sulphuric ammonium fertilizer 28,830 tons; writing and printing paper 29,856 tons; kraft paper

1,694 tons; tubes and tyres 518,744 units; caustic soda for rayon 16,000 tons; detergents 2,510 tons; household utensils of porcelain and china, 2,403 tons; porcelain and china sanitary wares, 3,673 tons; ferro cement, 772,391 tons; 33,079 tons of white cement; granulated wood, 5,583 tons; 5,451 tons of patterned crown glass; tinned sardines 3,499,000 tins; 13,295 tons of pasteurised milk, and many other new commodities coming out of 750 factories which were established during the years of the Revolution.

Let us cast a third look together on the third industrial programme which cost one thousand million pounds and which began by contracting some of its projects which have been presented within the Second Five-Year Plan starting 1965 till 1970 so that one can compare the desired production in this Second Plan with the actual production of the first. Steel from the mines in the Republic in the year 1964, 372,400 tons; for 1965, 490,000 tons and for 1970 according to the Second Plan, 2,250,000 tons; workshop tools in 1964 reached 400 machines, in 1965 they will reach 520 machines, and in 1970, 8,156 machines; fertilisers in 1964 amount to 850,000 tons, in 1965, 2,800,000 tons and in 1970, 3,700,000 tons; paper and cardboard in 1964 amount to 95,000 tons, in 1965, 145,000 tons, and in 1970, 456,000 tons, wood in 1964 amounts to 8,500 tons, in 1965, 70,000 tons and in 1970, 136,000 tons, plastic products, successively in 1964, 1965, 1970 are 2,700 tons, 7,500 tons and 37,500 tons, car tyres 7,000 tons, 16,200 tons, and 31,000 tons, crude oil, 6,100,000 tons, 7,500,000 tons and 12,000,000 tons, mazout, 3,100,000 tons, 3,600,000 tons and 4,600,000 tons; kerosene, 800,000, 900,000 tons and 1,100,000 tons; diesel oil 300,000 tons, 400,000 tons and 500,000 tons; benzine 300,000 tons, 500,000 tons and 1,000,000 tons; sugar

355,000 tons, 630,000 tons, and 1,000,000 tons; cement 2,400,000 tons, and 4,000,000 tons; iron bars for concrete 200,000 tons, 300,000 tons and 700,000 tons; flat and clear and coloured glass 31,000 tons, 44,000 tons and 75,000 tons; number of lorries, buses and cars is 2,450, 4,600 and 10,000; tractors, 632, 3,000, and 5,000 tractors; motor cars, 5,500, 12,600 and 25,600 cars; motor-cycles, none in 1964, 14,500 in 1965 and 25,000 in 1970; number of bicycles, 42,000, 60,000 and 150,000; phosphate, 600,000, 1,500,000 and 4,000,000 tons; coal, none in 1964, 12,000 tons in 1965 and 620,000 tons in 1970.

The implementation of this programme will enforce the industrial revolution in Egypt, by establishing heavy industries in it and adding to the industrial production about L.E. 670 million. We will also be able to export nearly L.E. 250 million's worth of it annually, after first satisfying our needs; this will also absorb 170,000 trained workers, newly appointed side by side with hundreds of thousands of labourers in construction and services who depend on industrialization. After this I add electric power to industry. During the last period we devoted to electricity L.E. 120 million in investments, including the enormous power station which was constructed on the old Aswan Dam and which was one of our unreachable dreams, that were lost in the midst of party manoeuvres. These investments do not comprise the great High Dam station, for this station in the second stage of the High Dam costs more than L.E. 100,000,000. But it will enable us to completely redouble the electric energy in our country and reach the international electricity standard in the highly developed industrial countries. Studies concerning electricity were made at the Qattara

Depression. Studies were conducted concerning the electrification of all the Nile Barrages which the experts expect to add about 10 milliard K.W. annually. At all costs we trust our ability to face the greatest projects. Organisation and efficiency which built the High Dam are able to undertake any project in the mind of great engineers.

I turn after that towards communications in the service of production, which is the right expression for sufficiency, the other wing of justice constituting the principle of social justice. For the second time, I come to a glorious picture of the aspirations and struggle of the Egyptian people. By this picture, I mean the Suez Canal on which the Egyptian people were able to impose the nationalisation and which they were able to recover from the imperialist monopolies which plundered it and wounded Egypt's pride and dignity in addition to the fact of the robbery itself.

Not only did the people of Egypt give proof of their determination and courage in recovering the Canal, but the same courage and determination were demonstrated in its management; and in its conversion into a universal trade channel which is the pride of our modern time. The most sanguine dreams of the defunct Suez Canal Company was to arrive to a deepening of the Canal of 36 feet. Yet, the Egyptian Suez Canal Authority's projects have brought it to a depth of 38 feet. Nor is this the only difference. I lay the following figures before you for comparison. In the year preceding the nationalisation of the Canal, the 1955 figures show that 14,666 steamers, of a net cargo of 115,756,000 tons of goods had transited it, and the revenue of the Canal was

L.E. 32,333,500. Seven years after the aggression and the nationalisation, the 1962 picture shows by its figures that the number of ships was 19,146 of a net cargo of 210,498,000 tons of goods, and the revenue was L.E. 71,294,000. Furthermore, the Canal Authority constructed a naval dockyard which has built up till now 4 ships of a load of 3,000 tons, and is engaged at present in building a 6,000-ton vessel to be followed by a 12,000 tons one. It also constructs maritime tug-ships, dredgers, and cranes, and puts itself to ameliorating the service in its harbours. Praiseworthy efforts were made in improving Port-Said harbour and its services are also carried to distant horizons; thus, the Authority is actually engaged on deepening Conakry harbour in Guinea, while other major works are being carried out in Al Chouek harbour in Kuwait.

After the Suez Canal which is an important, international navigation artery, I move to other communication spheres, such as the Railways. Since 1957, over L.E. 100 million were expended on them, thus augmenting their capacity for carriage of goods from 6 million to 12 million tons annually, and of transport of passengers from 85 million to 150 million persons.

In the telephones sector, the invested capital increased by 700% and the receipts by 362%; the number of lines rose from 63,000 to 184,000, with 300% increase. The trunk-lines increased to 2,800, that is by 310%.

In the postal service, the invested capital was increased seven-fold; investments in land roads reached L.E. 41 million; the freight of our maritime trade fleet increased by 400%.

I now come to another important domain which links between sufficiency and justice; and between production and services, and in fact, fulfils a more important role than mere linking, because it is an exploratory and a guiding role — this domain is that of scientific research.

Scientific and technical independence is the third dimension to the political and economic ones. Efforts were extended to all fields of research in industry. Then the National Chemical Researches Centre was created, followed by the Physics Researches Centre; the Alexandria Weaving Researches Centre; the Nasr City Petroleum Researches Centre, the Mineralogical Researches Centre at Helwan; the Weights and Measures Centre at the Pyramids. An experimental semi-industrial factory was created, and its experiments were shifted from the laboratory stage to the industrial stage representing in it production circumstances.

Work was conducted in mining and water researches, then efforts were centred on industrial researches for extraction; mining and subsoil and deep-soil waters. Side by side with the mining and water researches centre, a High Committee for the High Dam researches proceeds with a study of the expected geological, botanical, agricultural and other characteristics concerning the huge lake to be created behind the Dam and the problem of evaporation in it. Another committee for protection of Egyptian coasts against erosion. In the field of medical researches scientific solutions to the problems which encountered the inhabitants of

Egypt in the various epochs of their evolution, such as the endemic diseases and bilharziasis were effected.

In the field of transport and communications, centres for electronic researches, motor-car researches, and maritime constructions researches were created to assist the ship-building industry; and in the domain of agriculture and animal production, a centre was created for field-crop researches, an animal products, a plant-protection, a tropical agriculture, an agricultural and dairy industrialisation researches centres were also instituted, as well as a centre for study of dry regions, and another for orchard-crops researches and a centre for the study of hereditary diseases. The hydrobiological and fisheries laboratories of Alexandria were completed. Contracts were concluded for new vessels for marine researches in deep seas.

In the domain of rural researches, a high committee was instituted for village-reform researches; in the sphere of housing and buildings, a buildings research centre is in the course of being created; in the field of atomic energy, the atomic reactor started its work at Inshass in 1960, and was a prelude to the entry of the United Arab Republic into the era of the atom. During these last few years since the creation of the Atomic Energy Organisation, a team of researchers has been formed, and the necessary equipment and apparatuses have been provided, in order to enable them to keep pace with the progress of science. Missions were formed for exploration of radio-active elements locally.

Interest was also given to local manufacture of nuclear apparatuses, and isotopes, so as to realise self-

dependence in these matters and to supply Arab and African countries with their needs of them.

The production of isotopes for practical, medical, agricultural and industrial purposes was of high effect, and has led to the creation of an isotopes centre for Arab countries in Cairo, in the early months of 1963, for training specialists from Arab and African countries in this new field.

We have now begun preparations for the establishment of a reactor for the generation of electricity in view of the pressing need for new sources of energy. At the same time attention was directed to space. The Higher Space Researches Committee laid down a programme and a plan for action which it began to carry out for the preparation of a new generation of space researchers, so that we would not be left behind in the procession. Basic and laboratory research units were established, also an artificial moons tracking and observation station, a fact on which much of the wireless communications between all parts of the world will depend, also the profoundness of the studies leading to the peaceful utilisation of space, such as the atmospheric nature, the study of the outer space, the earth's magnetic survey, and short and long-term meteorological forecasts.

Total investments in scientific projects amounted to L.E. 58,000,000, of which L.E. 30,000,000 for atomic energy, and the balance for different research institutes.

The real investment, however, is in this army of scientists that fills our institutes, our universities, our workshops and factories, our production units and services, the number of scientists having exceeded 50,000,

of whom about 6,000 work in scientific research in the Ministry of Scientific Research institutes, together with their technical and administrative assistants. Besides, Egyptian science had to be connected with the world. Therefore, the External Researches Council began also the establishment of the African Researches Institute and the U.A.R. also participated in international efforts aiming at the utilisation of sciences and technology for the benefit of developing nations. We were thus an effective factor in all international conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations for this great aim.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly.

I feel I have spoken at some length about figures and their significance and indications, but I believe the picture of the great conversion which the six principles extracted from the deeply obscured circumstances that existed before the Revolution could not be drawn but by figures. I therefore ask your permission to continue to talk about figures.

If economic power is monopolised in the hands of the minority as was the case in 1954, this implies that political power still remained in the hands of this minority, whatever high-sounding slogans were used.

We could have been led into acceptance of the dictates of reality and the state of affairs remain entangled in a vicious circle, with no beginning, no end.

We could have succumbed to what had then seemed to be the reality, and that is that our potentialities were below our aspirations and thus being faced with the necessity of being more modest in our hopes, bringing them closer to our actual potentialities.

This accounted for the misgivings concerning the possibility of a development plan aiming at doubling the national income at least once every ten years.

To forego our hopes and to accept the circumstances of our reality would have been submission to it, despair on the part of the Revolution and an admission of its inability to bring about revolutionary change. In these circumstances we could also have been deluded by the outer appearance of prosperity from its very essence.

Prosperity for a few at the expense of the majority in society tells of an internal clash to come, which cannot be avoided and there can be no guarantee for the security of such a society. Furthermore, a state such as this is unethical and is contradictory to all human principles and rights. We were clearly aware that development must go hand in hand with distribution. We also realised that the position of the national economy is not measured by the exchange rate of our currency in the international speculation markets.

The true yardstick of the soundness of the economy is its potential for production. We are not concerned with having Egyptian currency maintain its value among the money changers of the world while it remains detached from the burdens of development, keeping its luxurious lustre but idle and nonchalant. No, that was not the purpose we had in mind for Egyptian currency. How easy would it have been for us to protect our currency's outer appearance and spare it the toil of being put to work? But we lay a demand on everything of value in our homeland, as we call upon every individual to carry the share he can sustain of the burden.

We could have speeded up results and we might have felt impatient. But we found that our savings had been used in the establishment of factories and the reclamation of desert land in rapid succession.

We could have made another mistake, concerning the impatience for results but opposed to it.

We could have forgotten that man was the builder of factories and the tiller of agricultural land, who cannot build factories and cultivate land in an efficient manner unless he feels that he is the master of factories and agricultural land and that all the factories and agricultural land belong to him and not all of him to them.

By this I mean that we could have forgotten the equilibrium between the duty of man and the right of man.

In addition to this, there were dangers from outside in the stage of this great conversion and in the midst of the country's hopes and aspirations as well as in the midst of the difficulties arising from the new re-birth of the country, there were external forces which felt danger to them from the hope and the new birth.

There were the three enemies of the Revolution which conspired against any national achievement by all means with a view to obstructing the progress of Egypt before it would be too late.

The first enemy was imperialism. In the stage of the great conversion, its war against us was fierce, relentless and unmitigated. In 1952 we started to differ with imperialism around a negotiation table. In 1953 we conducted guerilla warfare against imperialism in the

Canal zone. In 1954 and 1955 we were engaged in a desperate war against its pacts and its ambition to impose the policy of spheres of influence.

In 1956 we were engaged in a comprehensive armed war against imperialism. In 1957 we again faced its psychological war waged in an unprecedented manner along with a war of starvation through the economic blockade. In 1958 we participated in a political war of a new type throughout the whole Arab land against imperialism until the Baghdad Pact collapsed. Imperialism then ceased to face us openly and begun to work against us in a clandestine manner, from behind the façades of Israel and reactionism.

At this juncture, we came to the second enemy, Israel, and International Zionism. At a very early stage, Israel became aware of the danger which the Egyptian revolution constituted for it, particularly if this revolution succeeded in effecting a great conversion from backwardness to development. The Israeli enemy, and we too, were aware that the Arab progress was the solid and stable foundation which would enable the Arab nation to wage war against it from a position of vantage.

In 1952 and 1953 the Israeli enemy attempted to undermine the Egyptian Revolution by various means, thinking it was merely a military coup. With the superficial understanding of the Arab Egyptian experiment of 1948, it thought that Egypt, after such an experiment would divert its attention from its national position and concentrate it on its territory. Yet the Egyptian revolution could never have left its marks on history if it had forgotten for a single moment that its national

existence had no value except as an integral part of a bigger national entity.

The Israeli enemy then turned to conspiring with imperialism and plotting with it. It performed the role of the follower in the well-known tripartite aggression. It thus unveiled its true political and military value, which is that it is merely a base and a tool for imperialism by which the latter attempts to threaten the national progress and obstruct the national rallying of the peoples of the Arab nation.

The third enemy was Arab reactionism which only saw the Revolution at the beginning as a strong and able system of government. It imagined its force and capability as a power to serve and consolidate the existing conditions. When it realized that the Revolution was a power and a potentiality for social change, discord began in the Arab world. Arab reactionism launched the most dangerous attack faced by the Revolution from the secession which was plotted in the dark in Damascus on September 28, 1961, to the scandal of the Shtura Conference in which the enmity of reactionism to all revolutionary powers came to light.

The Yemeni Revolution was then able to tip the balance, bring back the initiative to the Arab revolutionary power and force reactionism to be in the defensive position.

Brethren,

We emerged from all this, from our free meeting with the national conscience of our nation and its demands and from our courageous confrontation with the

three enemies, with a very important achievement which was greatly beneficial in bringing the stage of the great conversion close to its goal.

This important achievement is clarity, complete clarity.

The small particles of the problems did not become separate battles. Totalities became connected and coherent. We almost have within our reach laws for social and political movements, whose effect extends from the stage of the great conversion to the subsequent stage which is that of the great upsurge.

For instance, Israel became nothing before us. Imperialism around us is something different. There had been attempts for division which aimed at the disintegration of problems. These attempts tried to give illusions that Israel is a problem of refugees which, once it is solved, will bring an end to the Palestine issue.

They have also tried to give the illusion that the powers which created Israel can act as liaison between us and Israel, or as an arbitrator or a neutral party.

All these illusions were destroyed.

The danger of Israel is its existence as it now stands with all it represents. The first thing it represents — as history and experience have proved, is that it cannot survive without imperialism. It stands for imperialism, for its service and its objectives of domination and exploitation.

Linked with this is the fact that its existence is an extension of the imperialist existence. It follows that

the triumph of freedom and peace in liquidating the imperialist existence cannot take place without affecting the Israeli existence.

It is one continuous battle, however wide its field may expand, to cover whole continents.

When freedom has achieved its full victory in Africa — and it will reach its goal whatever the difficulties it may meet — the setting sun of imperialism will fall into the ocean. Israel will not escape the same destiny.

When we decide to enter the war against the Israeli danger, we must clearly see the dimensions and horizons of the battle and realize that we need more than enough to face Israel alone. We will need the power capable of standing against those behind Israel or at least capable of paralysing them.

In direct association with this is the fact that the problem of Israel is not the problem of Palestine, but it is — after Palestine — of far-reaching and dangerous effect. Israel is a real expansionist danger planning a state bigger than the present state, working for the day in which the Arab peoples — between the Euphrates and the Nile — may be converted to refugees.

Hence, the Egyptian, Iraqi, or Syrian fighter, does not carry arms in defence of a Palestinian refugee family only; he also carries arms to defend his own Egyptian, Syrian or Iraqi family.

One Arab nation facing the same battle, since it faces the same danger and because it is threatened by the same fate, should it relent one day in its determination, or should it think lightly of history and the future,

and should it lose the present opportunity for readiness and alertness.

For example, the effect of the total clarity realised by the stage of the great conversion, and through which this great conversion was effected, extended its effects and connected the national with the patriotic action.

Contrary to what some people may imagine, this was not the effect of the pressure of the one enemy. The connection between the national action and the patriotic action represents the reality of the Arab existence itself historically and consequently it represents the fate of such a reality.

The accidental division resembled a foreign body forced upon the unified Arab entity, hence it caused allergic diseases as well as the repercussions of such diseases.

There is no doubt that the accumulations which precipitated behind the new barriers today constitute an actual obstacle. However, the unified original truth is stronger and deeper than such precipitates.

If all this accumulation of residue requires an enlightened remedy, the goal will always remain as it is, without reserve or hesitation: that national existence for any Arab people is but part of the national existence of the entire Arab nation. And this it will always be with conclusive clarity and without any shade of confusion or equivocation.

For example, this complete clarity achieved by the stage of the great conversion and realized by it has made

it imperative that there be one framework for national action.

The Egyptian experiment was able, at a fertile, rich and creative stage to set the framework for its political and social movement in its Charter of National Action which realized the connection and cohesion of its fronts. The Charter linked sufficiency with justice, political democracy with social democracy, the domination by the people over the means of production with the democratic administration of these means and the security of man's future with his capacity for fully expressing his opinion.

The Charter also linked between war against imperialism and war against backwardness, between the destruction of reactionism and the eradication of poverty, the dissolution of class differences and the right of equal opportunity for every citizen.

The Charter further connected economic power with military power, scientific advancement with intellectual and cultural progress. It even went much further in clearly extracting the moral from the stage of the great conversion and what it can contribute to the stage of the great upsurge.

From this extracted moral the Charter formed its conclusion that the national action, both in the social and political fields, would never achieve its objectives in the stage of upsurge except through the leadership of a strong alliance of the working popular powers as the only substitute for the overthrown alliance of feudalism and capital.

But I must raise my voice before you in warning that the Charter in our hands is to serve as a guide to the course of social progress and must not be turned into an obstacle in its way. The Charter is not a rigid text, it is a method for a comprehensive movement. The National Charter must be a tool in the hands of the allied working popular powers. On no account should the National Charter be transformed into a shackle on the working popular powers.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

As a result of this clarity realized by the stage of the great conversion wide strides were taken in the period which followed the approval of the National Charter by the National Congress of Popular Powers in fields which seemed at the first glance to have no connection with one another although they were actually closely connected together.

In the field of internal action : The final step lay in the liquidation of the ruling alliance between reaction and imperialism as well as the liquidation of their inherited privileges.

There was no enmity towards any individual or family.

I sincerely say in front of you, that I stopped long hesitating before the decree of imposing sequestration upon a number of individuals from this class who were able by virtue of numerous circumstances to monopolize riches at the expense of the masses of the people.

I was fully alive to the fact that they were human beings in addition to their being a class.

My aim was to liquidate this class provided that the dignity of every member in it and his right to live should be maintained as long as he performed his national duty.

I tried my best to mitigate the effect of this change on them. But I rightly considered that the law of justice must take its course.

I do not wish to go back to figures to illustrate the conditions which prevailed before the Revolution. But I cannot imagine, and neither can you, that the society in which we live can tolerate the existence of one hundred Egyptian and foreign families which owned belongings which were reclaimed as a result of nationalization, sequestration and Agrarian Reform, the value of which amounted to L.E. 1,000 million without exaggeration.

It was inevitable that the alliance of the working popular powers should begin the great role of leading the next stage on a prepared and open ground.

Otherwise, the enemies of this alliance, by nature, could, if we had left them the weapon of money, attack it and destroy it or deprive it of all effectiveness.

Although I consider that this class has been liquidated, I find it important here to make two remarks :

First : To see with tolerance that we were not against individuals. We were opposed to class distinction. It was our right to eliminate its effect but it was not our right to destroy the dignity and humanity of individuals. Therefore, a new page should be opened in front of all without distinction.

Second : We should not, at any cost, permit the emergence of a new class which would believe that it is entitled to inherit privileges from the old class. We should resist such deviation, rectify it, revolt against it if necessary, and take away all weapons which it may have obtained, because these weapons at the opportune moment may be used to stab the active popular powers which are the legitimate pioneers of national action and the vanguard of right and duty.

In the Sphere of Arab Action :

In the stage which followed proclamation of the National Charter, a slogan came into existence which was the only suitable one for any sound Arab action. This slogan is that «we cooperate with all as much as they are willing to cooperate with us and that there is no unity but the unity of goal.»

The slogan was not only heard but was seen in application.

When changes took place in Iraq and Syria in February and March, 1963 respectively, and their Governments requested unity with the U.A.R., the U.A.R. did not hesitate to start talks, unconditionally.

When the U.A.R. came to realize, during the talks and later, that there was no unity of goal binding it to the new governments, she was brave enough to speak her mind to the UAR masses and apologized without deceiving itself or others that it would not implement this unity.

It stood under the motto of «unity of aim regardless of sentiments and feelings.»

When the Israeli danger in Palestine increased through the plan for the diversion of the River Jordan, the U.A.R. extended an invitation to all those who wish to cooperate with her in facing the danger.

The U.A.R. welcomed all those who expressed a wish for cooperation, received them regardless of any social differences, acting according to the principle of «cooperating with others in proportion to their readiness to cooperate with you. Once more it stood by the principle «regardless of sentiments and feelings.»

In the field of military action.

The post-Charter period witnessed the launching of the first UAR rocket which symbolises much more important meanings than its driving power.

It symbolises the fact that the U.A.R. will explore every field in order to guarantee the soundness of the Arab defence on its national standard, to guarantee the efficiency of such a defence in facing all circumstances, and to have such a defence undertake its full duty. Meanwhile, it symbolises the belief of the U.A.R. in the fact that the efficiency of the defence does not need enthusiasm alone.

We need modern science in order to enable enthusiasm to be effective. The part played by science in the field of defence was reaffirmed when the first Egyptian aircraft flew in the Egyptian sky. All the design and every nail in this aircraft was made in the U.A.R. We are proud of the fact that the first aircraft manufactured in the U.A.R. was, according to experts, one of the strongest of its kind in the whole world.

This preparation was not a silent one. It stood ready to answer any appeal aimed at serving a goal. There was a great experience in Yemen. It constituted the most honourable and dignified experiences from the viewpoint of sacrifice. This happened when the Revolution occurred in Yemen and was exposed, from outside the borders, to the threat of a danger coming from behind the Yemeni borders.

While the experience of Yemen played its part in serving the principle, it gave an opportunity to the Armed Forces to test their efficiency under difficult war circumstances.

The Armed Forces tested their capability of rapid movement in the battlefield; the soundness of their communication lines; their endurance of life under the hardest circumstances; and the adamant quality of the Egyptian soldier. The farmer of the green plains reaffirmed his capability to reach the tops of the difficult and inhospitable mountains.

The unity of the Arab Army Corps was also put on test. In spite of their difficult conditions many soldiers, brave men from the Arab armies determined their place in the battle. They stood beside the people of Yemen and their glorious revolution; and the army of the U.A.R. and its sacred mission.

Having reached this point, in my address to you all, to our great people and to our unified nation, I wish to express, in the name of all those present here, to the Egyptian Forces in Yemen a greeting worthy of the heroes, their struggle, their sacrifices and their victory

which was a lasting honour to them and their nation and which will remain till the end of time.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

In such fields and others on the national, patriotic and international levels, the post-Charter stage has witnessed a clarity realized by the stage of the great conversion which itself was realized by it.

There is no need to repeat that your respectable assembly, with all its bearing with regard to the total struggle, was a result of this stage and of the continuous political conversion which, was achieved in that stage complementary to the social conversion so that it may also be a moving power for the social conversion opening the road for the stage of the great upsurge, and consolidating its progress towards its unlimited objectives.

We have seen how far we have proceeded on the road of the stage of the great conversion.

We have changed from a backward agricultural society, to a society which moves with steady strides to the age of industry and electricity, the age of atom and space.

We moved from the domination and tyranny of imperialism to a freedom realized by force, even the force of arms. We consider freedom as a human right for all peoples, and we assume our role in raising up its banner wherever an appeal for it is heard even from the farthest end of the world.

We moved from the domination of one class which monopolized all privileges, to a position which, for the first time in our country, allows for the establishment of a social democracy on the basis of sufficiency and justice and social democracy.

The old picture of the State of princes, pashas and foreigners has disappeared and was replaced by the state of farmers, workers, intellectuals, soldiers and national capital — the working popular powers and its leading alliance.

We changed from a country which is isolated because of its weakness and complexes to one which reacts with its time and the thoughts and principles of this time, and which has contacts with all the peoples of the world, stretching its hand to them and in turn accepting theirs.

All this, however, does not enable the great upsurge to be realized all by itself.

All that was achieved, as I have said and emphasised, is of no value unless it be an incentive for the continuation of work.

It is an upsurge to horizons which have no limits, and a confrontation of particular problems which still obstruct its way.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

In the stage of the great upsurge which followed the stage of the great conversion, there are three major objectives which we have unlimited capacity to achieve if we arm ourselves with sincerity to both the experience and to the hope.

First : There is the objective of continuous development, a comprehensive plan preparing for another comprehensive plan, a doubling of the national income followed by another doubling based on the result of the first doubling.

We started comprehensive planning in 1960 with a national income of L.E. 1,285 million per year. We want it to reach by the end of ten years in 1970 the sum of L.E. 2,570 million per year and to reach L.E. 5,140 million in 1980 and so on.

At this speed of development, which circumstances have proved our ability to endure without dizziness, the increase of the national income outruns any increase — which may be uncontrollable — in the population. Moreover, it can basically and decisively change the living standard of the working masses.

We should not be intimidated by our dreams so long as our ability to work for them is ever-increasing.

Great dreams become a danger to those in whom the relation between aspiration and willpower is disrupted, but they are a desired legitimate objective to those in whom the right to dream and the duty of work are related.

But will power alone does not fulfil the dreams ; there must be planning and pursuit of the plan : both require extensive knowledge and profound experience in the national reality. There must be internal and external financing ; both require sound thinking and precise balance. The correct solution to planning and pursuit, internal and external financing is not to halt or to slow

down, but a further increase in perceptive speed can draw us nearer to the correct solution.

Speeding up the development process is the only means by which the Egyptian economy can independently find the moving self-force that would stimulate its progress from within. I do not think we are lacking in potentialities, but we always need to put the right man in the right place and allow him to benefit from experiments.

As the problems of local and foreign financing are far more difficult and complicated than the problem of providing the potentialities necessary for leading the planning, we have to depend on the accurate scale of consumption which does not affect savings nor does any injustice to the living man.

Concerning foreign financing, we have to differentiate between loans for consumption purposes and loans for production purposes. Let us remember that the income of the High Dam in six months would suffice — for example — to cover all the loans which had been extended for its building. The success achieved in development solves its problems simultaneously. The most important thing is that progress should continue according to plan. This plan should be carried out in the open both with regard to concept and reality.

Second : There comes after development the objective of democracy and the continuous expansion of its framework and deepening of its concept. In the next stage, there are interactions which we should allow to have full effect on life in our society.

We have to complete the structure of the political organisation of the Socialist Union, though the general structure of this Union is now perceptible before us, this structure should be full of effective and creative life, and this effective and creative life should be extended to all the bodies of the political organisation — like the nervous system in the body — in every village, every factory and every home.

But we should not allow ourselves to get entangled in lengthy philosophical discussions on the role of the Socialist Union.

The Socialist Union, in short, is the political organisation of the working popular powers through which they work to ensure that authority shall, at all times, remain in their hands and shall not move into other hands.

This is the aim of all political organisations including parties. But whereas a party represents a certain interest in any country or class, the Socialist Union does not represent a group or a class but expresses the political will of the active popular powers allied within its framework.

It is necessary, therefore, that there should be an intellectual clarity in classifying responsibility and the interaction between thoughts and the organisations which serve them.

If the Charter and the experiment which it represents have become the subject of political thought on the role of the Socialist Union, we still have a great deal to do in order to achieve this interaction between the bodies adhering to these thoughts and working for them.

Thirdly : There follows the stage of upsurge with development and democracy, the objective of realising overall Arab unity.

Although we cannot, as yet, give this inevitable unity its final shape, the success in realising the aim of development and the aim of democracy in this country, which we consider to be the base and vanguard of the Arab nation, will bring nearer the day of unity, define its final form and mould it in accordance with the will and requirements of national conscience.

The social and political revolution which takes place here at the base and among the vanguard, does not take place in isolation of the Arab nation. It is taking place within full sight and in close connection with the conscience of the Arab nation.

Perhaps this is the reason behind all the problems which are caused to this base by the forces which oppose Arab unity and the Arab revolution which is both the road and approach to unity. It is important here that both the road and approach may be kept open and clear of all obstacles despite the provocations and the initiative for enmities.

It is equally important to realise that the road and approach are not a bridge for exporting revolutions. Revolution is not an exportable commodity. True revolution emanates from the conscience of every Arab nation and from its actual reality. When this takes place, all barriers shall fall and all the sources will meet to form the wide and deep course of Arab unity.

The experience of the merger between Egypt and

Syria had its decisive effect which will remain above any temporary setback.

This experience has proved that unity was possible ; but if the experience suffered a blow from outside, this blow and what followed in Syria had proved that secession was impossible.

When the Arab nation realises itself through revolutionary unity, it will be more capable than before to face the challenges of the age negatively and positively ; it will be in a position to destroy all its enemies and carry out its international role and its mission in the service of development and peace.

Fellow countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

After these three great objectives, and as we await for the stage of the great upsurge, there remains before us a number of problems. We must find in the future experiment a correct answer for every question we lay down.

1. — There is the problem of agriculture and the necessity for its development so that it may play its role in the national development. If we take individual landownership as the basis of agriculture wealth, this private ownership has to be consolidated by cooperation which coordinates effort and strengthens it by means of modern science.

2. — There is the problem of heavy industry. The setting up of heavy industries will be our greatest responsibility in the coming stage of the second half of the Five-Year Plan. Although we are about to allocate

a thousand million pounds for setting up heavy industries in the second Five-Year Plan, yet it is not an easy task both from the point of view of financing and execution.

3. — There is also the problem of three million agricultural workers in the countryside. There is no guarantee of a steady pay for them. Neither is there any social insurance system to safeguard their future. Until now, very little services are extended to them ; the needs of the city sometimes attract attention and overshadow problems which are far more complicated and which no one calls attention to their existence.

4. — We also have the problem of Government machinery. We have to admit that, despite all efforts, it has not been developed to the extent that would enable it to serve the new society. It still holds itself superior to the people, assuming authority and unwilling to realise that it should be the servant of the masses.

5. — There is also the problem of prices and it is our duty to exert every effort to keep away the whirlpool of inflation. There is no doubt that the volume of general expenditure and the volume of expanding employment at the same time can have their effects on the price levels. Yet we had these considerations in mind when we decided to start with the consumer industries at the beginning of the development process in order to ensure always the availability of commodities to be bought by the huge expenditure for development in the interest of the ever-expanding labour power, which marked an increase of 880,000 new workers in all fields.

6. — We have before us the problem of family planning. While we want production to outpace the growth

in population, we imagine that the transformation of society from conventional agricultural methods to modern methods and to industry would in the process transfer the consciousness of the advantages of planning to the family level. It is inevitable that we should help natural development by every means afforded to us by modern science for the control of the problem.

7. — We also have before us the question of getting accustomed to criticism and courageous self-criticism. In this connection, it is not sufficient for us to say that the people control the mass information media including the press. These media must actually express the people, their life, their values and their lawful aspirations.

Countrymen, members of the National Assembly,

In the Constitution issued to become a base for the social and political regime in the United Arab Republic and to serve provisionally until you complete your mission of establishing a permanent constitution for submission to the people in a referendum, in this provisional constitution you have seen certain points the meanings of which I must emphasize, and ask your permission to allow me to do this frankly.

First, I was particular on formulating the text which called for the nomination of any candidate for the office of President of the Republic by the National Assembly for submission to the people in a referendum.

I wish that this text should stand as it is in the permanent constitution of the United Arab Republic.

It is the people's will that makes the people's leadership and asserts its place.

I raise my voice here, before you, warning against reliance on the individual.

The people must always be the master of the individual and his leader.

The people will survive any leader, regardless how great is the role played by this leader in his nation's struggle.

I say this before you, at a time when I realise and appreciate this great people who have supported and honoured me in a way that I have never dreamt of or imagined.

I have dedicated my life to this people. But they gave me what is more than any man's life.

They have entrusted me with a responsibility I had never imagined one single person would shoulder.

I would like to tell you — perhaps for the first time — that during the tripartite aggression I did not sleep at night. The aggression itself, I assure you, was not the cause of my insomnia. But this insomnia was caused by my feeling of the trust laid down in my hand by the confidence this great people placed in me.

If the period of great conversion necessitated the centralisation of powers in my person to take decisive resolutions, I now say that I feel happy that this respectable assembly is taking its historic share of responsibility and facing the wide and ever increasing consequences of the great drive.

The second question: I made a point that there

should be a straightforward provision to meet any emergency that may occur to the President.

The lack of such provision was a source of worry to me during the past experience. Man's life is at the disposal of his Creator, He may take it back at His own will.

On the other hand, I knew that I was being exposed to numerous surprises during the period of the great conversion.

I never feared for myself. I have always been aware of the responsibility of what I have done since the day we began to work for organizing the Revolution.

My only fear was for my country.

The aspirations of this nation and the great results which it has achieved by its action should be safeguarded. This should be above all surprises.

It was necessary to set up a system to draw the road which should be followed so that matters should always be placed in the hands of the people to direct in accordance with their will.

I feel satisfied and content that the dangerous gap which I had felt behind my back has been solved.

There remains a third issue. This is the text of the first transitional clause in the Constitution which has just been proclaimed to terminate the period of the present term of the presidency of the republic on March 26, 1965, that is one year from now.

I had wished matters to return to the people long before that date so that they may express their will and opinion.

But the next stage is full of international commitments which are not connected with me but concern this people and their great humanitarian role.

There is a conference of Heads of African States, another for the heads of Arab States, and a third for the Heads of the non-aligned countries. Some of these conferences, or may be all of them, will be held in Cairo.

My feeling of the confidence of the people in me reassures me that I did not exaggerate in the respite which I estimated before returning again and making a plebiscite among the people with regard to the presidency of the Republic.

My highest hope is to make this confidence meet with the hopes and aspirations of this eternal people. I have no request except to have an opportunity to serve in the field of public service at any spot the people, who are the leaders, may choose for me.

Countrymen,

Let the signal go out of this place carrying its message to every land and every era. The Egyptian people today realised, through its heroic and humanitarian struggle, the stage of the great conversion. The Egyptian people are now on their way to the stage of the great upsurge on a land which is as solid as the truth itself and which is shining and not covered by any clouds.

May God be with you.

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